

CHILE:

The Chinese Role: The Chinese leaders are allied with a small ~~group~~ Anti-Communist Party group in Chile, that calls itself "Marxist-Leninist." This "Pekingest Group", as it is called, is made up of five rather discordant groups. Group 1: made up of a number expelled from the CP in '51; Group 2: of seven expelled several months ago and a number of fringe individuals, who were not party members; Group 3: of some Socialists; Group 4: of Trotskyists, and Group 5: of miscellaneous individuals.

Together they published a magazine, "Principios," which has the same name and format of the party's theoretical organ.

The Peking Review, No. 18, May 1, ran big big story about a meeting of the so-called "Marxist-Leninists of the Chilean Communist Party." It quoted a resolution, that, "salutes the Communist Party of China, true heir to the revolutionary organization, which should never be abandoned." And it denounces the CP of Chile and the CPSU in the usual terms of the Chinese leaders.

Speeches advocating "armed uprising" and "armed struggle" are quoted.

The number attending is given as 60.

The actual number was 14, says a well-informed Chilean journalist. But the speakers did urged armed uprisings.

The Chinese leaders and their stooges in Chile are vehemently opposed to the campaign of the coalition of Communists and Socialists in the presidential elections. A recent letter from the Chinese Communist Party to the Communist Party of Chile is quoted in "Principios," the Chilean Party's theoretical journal. The letter is very abusive. It describes the Chilean Communists as "cowardly penguins," It compares the penguin with the "albatross," who rides on the storm winds.

The Chinese letter becomes very ridiculous when it complains that the Chilean party has not organized any guerrillas in the Santa Lucia Hills.

These are little hills inside the city of Santiago. They are a place, the Chilean journalist said, where boy kisses girl and where children play with their grandpas. And the May issue of "Principios" remarks that the reference to the Santa Lucia Hills shows how far the Chinese leaders have wandered from reality.

There are no mountains suitable for guerrillas in Chile. The Andes rise like precipices. They are absolutely naked and devoid of human life. A runaway bank cashier was easily detected on the naked face of the Andes sometime ago, and captured by helicopters.

This does not mean that the people would be incapable of furnishing physical resistance to oppression if the peaceful way of transition became impossible. But the CP has given very careful attention to the problems the people will face if a coup d'etat is attempted. But the first job now is to unite the people to win the presidential election that comes on September 4.

(more)

Election Campaign:

The candidate of the Communist-Socialist coalition, Salvador Allende, a physician, appears to have fair prospects of winning an absolute majority in the September 4th presidential elections. An absolute majority is necessary. If no candidate has an absolute majority the Parliament has the power to choose either one of the two highest contestants. The Parliament is dominated by the conservative coalition. It would therefore choose the second highest ~~man~~ contestant, who would be FRAI, the candidate of the Christian Democrats, or "Demo-Christians," whom ~~man~~ three parties of the rightist coalition (the government coalition) are backing.

There are also two lesser candidates, who will split the vote and increase the difficulties of the left coalition.

The left coalition, however, is showing amazing strength. Allende's May 10th meeting in Santiago brought 200,000 people together. The photos of the crowd in El Siglo look ~~like~~ the crowds at a Castro meeting in Havana. Enemies agree that this was the biggest political meeting in Chilean history. The left forces were surprised at the crowd. There had been little time for preparation. It followed meetings of 10,000 youths, who had come to Santiago from all parts of Chile. El Siglo shows sanitary and medical workers marching with banners, circus workers entertaining the crowd and many pushcart floats.

The job now is to consolidate support among the small shopkeepers and other lower middle class elements. A big majority of the workingclass and a majority of the peasantry seems assured.

The big "turn" in election prospects came with the left-coalition's victory in a by election in the Curico area, a peasant area, recently. It was a sweeping victory, that reversed the results in previous elections. The rightists were so upset that DURAN, their coalition's candidate, was withdrawn. And the rightist reluctantly accepted FRAI, the Demo-Christian.

The Rightist coalition includes the Conservatives, who represent the big-landowners first, and the financiers and industrialists secondly; the Liberals, who represent the financiers and ~~industrialists~~ industrial groups first, the landowners secondly.... Alejandro, the present president, is a Liberal, and a big businessman ... The Radicals are the third party. The Demo-Christians were not in the coalition, although their candidate has the coalition's reluctant backing now.

(more)

MEMO ON LATIN AMERICA:

Chile, 2nd continuation:

Election, continued:

The Radicals are badly split, and this gives much hope to the left-coalition. The Radicals are connected with the Masonic Order, which is a very different thing in the Latin lands than in the Anglo-Saxon countries. The Radicals are anti-Catholic. They also represent professional people and middle-middle and lower middle class elements. A large percentage of their followers -- perhaps a majority -- are expected to support Salvador Allende, the left candidate. Many Radicals have made this very clear. In fact the Valparaiso organization of the Radicals at a meeting unanimously asked the national Radical leaders to call a national assembly of the party on the ~~municipal~~ elections. They want to support Allende.

Allende and the Socialists:

Allende is a Socialist. He has been a candidate twice before. Is well known. He strongly supports the left coalition's demand for the nationalization of the copper mines and for a very extensive agrarian reform. This is a hot issue, because the big landowners own most of Chile's arable land.

The Socialist party is working very well with the Communists. There is a strong Marxist influence in it.

Coup d'etat Danger:

The CP considers that there is a real possibility of a coup d'etat, perhaps before the Sept. 4 elections. The rightists do not want ~~the~~ FRAI, the Demo-Christian. They dislike his demagogic appeals to the masses. And they are very afraid of the victory of Allende, and the threat of nationalization and extensive agrarian reform.

The Government's armed forces are concentrated in the Carabinieris, or national police and the military establishment. The Carabinieris has 20,000 men. It is well-armed, ~~and~~ highly trained in street fighting and is viciously anti-workingclass. It may be more dangerous than the military itself. The military forces number 30,000 men. They have the planes, tanks, ships, which the carabinieris lack. But the lower strata of the military is much closer to the people.

Contrasts with Brazil, in re coup danger:

The Brazilian terrain is suitable for guerrilla activity. The Chilean terrain is not. However the Chileans have one great advantage over the Brazilians. The Chilean workingclass is much more united than the Brazilians. The party, relatively, is much stronger. And the Chinese disrupters have had relatively little effect.

(more)

MEMO ON LATIN AMERICA,  
CHILE, 3rd Continuation:

Mass movements :

The election campaign comes during a period of stirring extra-parliamentary mass movements in Chile.

The mass movement is spurred by inflation. The cost of living rose 48 per cent in 1963, and 9.8 % in the month of February alone.

Unemployment is also a pressing issue, although not so much so as inflation.

Life is very difficult for the workers and peasants.

Strikes:

Between March and September, 1963, 1,350,000 work days were lost by strikes. This compares with only 1,000,000 work days lost by strikes in all of Asia, except Japan, in 1962 and 300,000 work days lost in Africa in same period.

Some of the big strikes also had political demands. A press "gag law," of which we lack details, was especially attacked.

Peasants  
Seizing Land:

There is a big mass movement of peasants, taking over lands. This is especially true of the Indians in South Chile, who seize land.

City Poor  
Seizing Lots:

The city poor are seizing land to build slum homes. Some ~~more~~ 100,000 got lots that way in two years.

These mass movements are flowing into election campaign.

Communist Forces:

The Communist Party numbers about 40,000 members in a land of 8,000,000. Also 20,000 youths in Communist Youth Movement.

The CP has 15 deputies in the lower chamber, and 4 Senators. The Socialists have 14 deputies, and 5 Senators.

The Communists have big influence in the ~~min~~ mines and factories. The Socialist influence is more in the little establishments

More than half the intellectuals are sympathizers with the Communist Party.

COLOMBIA:

Peking Review, No. 20, May 15, 1964, has attack on Communist Party of Colombia. Says the Communist Youth Union of Colombia split at the fifth plenary session in Bogota in February. The so-called "Marxist-Leninists" (splinter group) held a separate meeting and established their own "Colombian Communist Youth Union," which then denounced the Colombian CP in usual terms. Their resolution called on the Colombia youth to prepare for the "seizure of power." Have no other information on importance of splinter group.

END MEMO

MEMO ON LATIN AMERICA:

BRAZIL: The situation is still unclear. The Brazilian Party has not yet published its own analysis. Some other parties, such as the CP of Chile, are reluctant to present their own analysis at this time. One reason is the coming, September, Presidential elections in Chile. This is not regarded as the time to present any possible criticisms of the Party in Brazil.

Some things are obvious, however. The role of the Chinese leaders, for instance.

The Chinese leaders did much to disrupt the unity of workers and peasants as the storm clouds were gathering. They not only had their own so-called "Communist" group of disrupters. They also were giving support to Attorney Juliao, the peasant leader, who had some serious difference with the Communist Party leadership. There were separate peasants organizations, led, respectively by Juliao and the Communists. There is some speculation that it was a mistake to attack him sharply. That is not clear. But his split with the Party leaders weakened matters, of renegades. The so-called "Communist" ~~group~~ "party,"/that was working with the Chinese leaders, also weakened the real Communist forces. According to one Latin American journalist's estimate this pro-Chinese group had perhaps as much as 30 % of the former leaders of the Communist Party.

The Peking Review, No. 19, is making propaganda out of the Brazilian coup d'etat. It calls for "revolutionary violence," and it uses the Brazilian situation to attack what it calls the "modern revisionists", and the "preaching of 'peaceful transition' to the oppressed nations." The Chinese elsewhere exaggerate the generals' terror, which is certainly extremely bad. They say there are 40,000 prisoners. ~~That, however, is not the important matter. It is merely an example of their looseness with facts.~~

There is an article in the May issue of "Principios," the theoretical organ of the Chilean Communist Party, on Brazil. It is by Volodia Teitelboim, a member of the political bureau. He used the figure of 10,000 prisoners (as of the first week after the coup d'etat.) He says that Goulart was ousted for the following three reasons among others: His support of some Agrarian Reform, of a State Monopoly of Oil Refineries, and of a Moratorium on rent increases in private homes. He also said that the Coup d'etat ~~which~~ kills that "continental Lie, the Alliance for Progress." Said it should be re-baptized as the Alliance for Coup d'etats."

He hinted also that the Brazilian coup had stirred the ambitions of would-be military dictators in Chile.

Goulart's own weaknesses are obvious. Prestes said in an interview with The Worker in Moscow in the late fall of 1962 that Goulart would not solve the people's problems, although progressives supported him against the rightists and pushed him to do more.

The role of the CIA and the U.S. monopolies in the coup is considered very obvious, of course. The increased danger to Cuba has also been emphasized elsewhere. Most of the higher Communist leaders escaped the "gorillas," though many cadres have apparently been imprisoned.

END BRAZIL

## MEMO ON LATIN AMERICA:

VENEZUELA: (based on a conversation with a Latin American Communist journalist, who follows Venezuelan affairs.)

Re Chinese: He has no information of any links to the Chinese leaders inside the Venezuelan party.

The leftism in Venezuela was reflected in an attempt to follow the Cuban example under very different conditions from those prevailing in Cuba, when Castro's epic struggle began.

The Party in Venezuela tried to follow two different tactics at the same time. They tried to maintain an open party leadership while the guerrillas were fighting in Caracas and in the countryside. The police countered by jailing the open leaders, and closing the press.

The Venezuelan Party, in the opinion of this friend, made a serious mistake in boycotting the last election. There were seven candidates. Some of them represented some democratic forces. The Party called for ABSTENTION in the election. But there was only a 23 % abstention, compared to a normal 20 %.

The Party now has lost its daily press, although it ~~manages~~ publishes underground papers.

These tactics have temporarily weakened the Party's ties with some important groups of workers. There have been no big strikes among the oil workers recently. Some party men ~~explain~~ explain that the oil workers have won high wages and become "aristocrats" of labor. Some also argue that the decisive role is not played by the Venezuelan workers but by the youth groups in the cities. One may question such views, however.

The guerrilla activity in city and countryside was supposed to prepare the way for a general revolutionary struggle against the anti-democratic administration that the oil monopolists were supporting. It was also expected that the election of Leoni, Betencourt's successor, would produce a much more radical situation. It was believed that other parties would feel themselves cheated. But Leoni split the democratic ranks by a skillful manoeuvre. He took some of the democratic leaders into his administration. This took the CP by surprise, according to my friend's information.

Meanwhile the guerrilla activity continues. It is said to be gaining somewhat in the countryside. But it does now show much promise of becoming decisive in the near future. The numbers are not big...Perhaps 3,000.

There seems to be some division in the CP -- some younger people became impatient with the leaders, ~~who~~ who are in late middle age and early old age.

A hopeful sign is that recent party writings imply self-criticism. The party now says that the struggle will be long and arduous (Didn't say that earlier). They say that the guerrillas at first were not well disciplined and united but are more united and disciplined now.

About the Chinese question: A commission is studying the question of international unity, but has made no report.

END VENEZUELA

P.S. The Leoni government is the government of the oil monopolists, for all its democratic trimmings. End

MEMO ON LATIN AMERICA:

PERU:

"Who Do The Chinese Leaders Support in Peru?" This is title of a long article in Pravda, May 22, '64, by Raoul Acosta Salas, general secretary of the Communist Party of Ecuador.

The article begins by saying that the Chinese press and Peking radio broadcasts are actively supporting the so-called "true Marxist-Leninists," "genuine revolutionists," opposing "revisionism" in the leadership of the Peruvian Communist Party.

The Peking Review recently reported the alleged "expulsion" of the alleged "revisionists" from the CP. This "expulsion" was conducted by a renegade clique at an alleged "conference" of the Peruvian Communist Party recently. The conference was attended only by a group of splitters who live in Lima. The group was made up of a number of professionals, intellectuals and students, with some artisans. It did not represent the wage-earning workers, who make up 70 per cent of the CP in Lima. Nor did it include any representatives of Peruvians from outside Lima. (Thus the miners, railroad workers, ~~and~~ port workers, etc., were in no way represented.) It is apparently rather serious, nevertheless.

At the close of this splitter-conference the leaders did an unprecedented thing: They called in the capitalists journalists, who wrote slanderous, anti-party stories. One of the leaders, a lawyer named Saturnino Paredes, told the journalists that the Declaration of the 12 Parties in 1957 and the Statement of the 81 Parties in 1960 were "revisionist theses." This "slanderous information" came from the Chinese leaders, says Raoul Acosta Salas, the writer of the article.

The factionalist group also made a "bandit raid" on the editorial hq of Unidad, the central organ of the Peruvian CP. The raiders were armed, but were driven off by the defenders.

Eleven splitters have been expelled by the CP of Peru. The expelled group includes Attorney Paredes, the chief leader; Attorney <sup>Jose</sup> Sotomayor, the Number 2 renegade; also S. Kunti, A. Soria, E. Bastos, L. Ferrer, S. Fuentes, V. Alvarez, A. Romueldo, M. Carrillo and M. Tauro.

All are described as ultra dogmatists, adventurers, anti-Sovieters. And Raoul Acosta Salas says there are links with the police.

MEMO ON LATIN AMERICA:

PERU continued:

The Fourth Conference of the regional party organization of Lima followed this rump convention. It unanimously decided to expel the splitters. It met with much support from the workers of Lima. In fact workers, member of the militant Peruvian Communist youth, and representatives of the peasant communities made a demonstrative march to the building where the conference was held, to express their detestation of the splitters.

And at the present time the Communists in all departments of Peru are holding Party conferences, denouncing the splitters and their "guardians" in Peking.

This split comes at a difficult time, after ~~human~~ pressure from the USA and the Peruvian oligarchy led Parliament to pass the "law on reprisals," which provides for the outlawing of the Communist Party, and the suppression of the peasant movement for land. It is also used against the national movement to nationalize the oil lands illegally seized by the Standard Oil interests.

Raoul Acosta Salas also says that some of the splitters (Soria, Ferrer, Fuentes, Tauro and Carrillo) ~~permanently~~ behaved badly at the time of an earlier split in 1948. They were allied then with the renegade ~~MM~~ Luna, who later became a Senator under the Dictator, Odría. The 1948 split, says the writer, was organized by the FBI.

The article does not say how many of the present splitters ~~had~~ were in the national leadership of the Party. Another source here says eight -- or about one fourth of the national leadership.

This is therefore, probably, the most serious split of this kind in any Latin American CP.

END PERU